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ABSTRACT

This report on new careers training for the poor discusses the feasibility of developing professional level careers for persons with relatively little education and few credentials; and reviews, in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Government Research, the efforts of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute (CATI) in trainee motivation and new careers development. It also relates how Rutgers University and various community action agencies are using indigenous personnel to bring adult education to ghetto areas, and describes the New Jersey Civil Service Commission's efforts to use nonprofessional aides in public welfare agencies. Other recent CATI materials are listed. (This document is also available from: New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, Inc., P.O. Box 2465 South Broad St., Trenton, New Jersey 08610.) (LY)

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NEW CAREERS IN ACTION

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FOREWORD

Barry A. Passett is Director and Glenn M. Parker is Assistant Director of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, Inc. The Institute, a non-profit corporation, provides a wide variety of training and materials development services for people working in the war against poverty.

From its inception in 1965, the Institute has given special attention to new careers. In cooperation with a variety of human service agencies, job descriptions and career ladders have been prepared and pre and in-service training and education designs have been developed. Some of these programs are described in the articles in this pamphlet.

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May, 1969

NEW CAREERS—AN INTRODUCTION

by Barry A. Passett and Glenn M. Parker

The concept of new careers first appeared in 1965 as a strategy for resolving an ironical paradox of the American economy: on the one hand, an acute shortage of skilled workers for the human services; on the other, an acute scarcity of jobs for the millions of under and unemployed. Pearl and Riessman[1] proposed that this gap be closed with a nation-wide public employment program, whereby the poor would be hired and trained to serve the poor in all health, education and social welfare agencies. Such a program, they said, would not only provide the disadvantaged with meaningful, dignified work; but would also improve and expand the quality of the human services, and create a rich, new source of skilled and even professional—manpower as these new employees acquired education and experience.

Although simply stated, the proposal—if properly implemented—signifies far-reaching and difficult change. It requires that the jobs in a human service agency be redefined and restructured so that the unskilled workers may perform the less complicated tasks immediately on being hired; that the new workers be given time off from their jobs for training and education specially geared to their needs; that the professional staff members share some of their power, prestige and knowledge with the new workers; that interpersonal problems that may arise between the incumbent workers and the new personnel be resolved to the advantage of both; that all learn to work with each other as well-integrated teams; that non-traditional routes to career advancement and education be charted so that the disadvantaged workers may move rapidly to positions of greater responsibility without displacing incumbent employees; that special supportive services and training in human relations for all workers be available. It calls for the cooperation and support of the community and other agencies, and for much skillful negotiation with policy-makers.

The new movement gained many adherents quickly; but in the years that have elapsed since the seeds of the idea were first sown, no full-blown new careers program has yet developed.

The articles that follow discuss the impediments in the way of new careers, and offer some suggestions—none of them panaceas—for removing these obstacles. The writers, staff members of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, have strong commitment to the goals of the concept. The articles are based on their experiences in working for its implementation. The Institute has collaborated closely with federal, state and city government representatives, and with a wide variety of human service agencies. The CATI staff has served as consultants on policy, negotiation strategies, training methodologies, curriculum and materials development, and as trainers of both professional and para-professional staff.

The articles deal with the progress of new careers programs for relocation aides in Jersey City and New York, welfare and code enforcement aides in Paterson, New Jersey, and adult education aides in New Jersey ghettoes.

Each of these programs represented a departure from conservative employment practices, and can be considered as a "breakthrough." While not disparaging the great step forward that has been made, the writers believe much is left to be done. More commitment is necessary. Much more thought must be given to ways of developing better on-the-job training and education. True career opportunities within hiring agencies still must be structured and made realistically accessible to the under-educated as well as to the professionally trained. Otherwise, the promising concept of new careers will remain another unfulfilled hope; another missed opportunity, another reason for continuing despair and anger on the part of those who are abandoned on the banks of the American mainstream.

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[1] *New Careers for the Poor,* New York Free Press, 1965.

CAN NEW CAREERS BE CREATED FOR THE POOR?

by Glenn M. Parker

People throughout the nation have talked about building new careers for the poor during the past three years. Some have done something about it by conducting experimental training programs. But how far have we come and where are we going?

The public is familiar with the negative income tax guaranteed annual wage proposals. But they know little about "new careers" — an equally radical anti-poverty concept.

As Pearl and Riessman put it: "the new careers concept has as a point of departure the creation of jobs normally allotted to highly trained professionals and technicians but which could be performed by the unskilled, inexperienced and relatively untrained worker . . ."[1] An additional but crucial element is that "the job must be permanent and must be incorporated into the matrix of the industry or agency."[2] Most of these new jobs could be filled by poor people, hence, "new careers for the poor."

The idea has popular appeal. The labor economist, eschewing *Fortune's* Charles Silberman for the moment, can look to the market and find blue-collar, private sector jobs disappearing rapidly accompanied by a substantial growth in the service areas. Government employment is also expanding, especially in the areas of education and health. Evidence abounds from the Labor Department and from many university economists to indicate that this trend will continue.

New careers also appeals to the unorganized but nevertheless growing anti-social worker cult because of the concept's emphasis on "hiring the poor to serve the poor." It is probably fair to say that every liberal element, especially those whose jobs have not been the target for the new careers thrust, favors the idea.

The essential ingredient in any such program is training: pre-service training to prepare for the entry level position and in-service training to insure opportunities for advancement. As a result, most of the demonstrations in the new careers area have been training programs.

However, most of these demonstrations fail to develop fully advancement opportunities in the institution or agency. And they do not involve the hard-core poor.

New Careers . . . ?

Most of the so-called new careers training demonstrations have been programs that prepare non-professionals for entry or sub-entry level positions. Current examples: the Teacher Aide Program that is coordinated by the Bank Street College of Education, the Youth Employment Program of the National Committee on Employment of Youth, and the Adult Education Aides Project conducted by the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute.

The typical Federally-funded demonstration runs for six months. Some run as long as a year. The biggest item in the budget is the stipends for the trainees. It is clear that the stipends significantly increase the propensity of the agency to accept the trainee. In at least one program the agencies were also given a lump sum to cover the cost of direct supervision of the trainees.[3]

These programs generally involve a pre-service orientation and training effort followed by placement in an institution or agency for an extended period of time (a term or summer session in the case of a teacher aide). The field training is usually supplemented by regular seminars with the project director and, often, on-site supervisors. These follow-up sessions include a discussion of on-the-job problems as well as training in areas not covered in the pre-service program.

It is generally expected that the agency will hire the trainee at the end of the demonstration. Too often this act is marked as the "break-through" and the project thereby labeled a success. Indeed, in many sections of the country, it is probably true that the hiring of a non-professional by an educational or social agency should be called a break-through.

Shortsighted View?

However, it should be clear that such a view is at once short-sighted and, perhaps more important, unfair to the trainees in the demonstration. They have been led to believe that there were really career possibilities for them with the agency. The agency usually can manage only one break-through each generation and, therefore, another poor person has been trained for a dead-end job.

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Just as most trainers think last of evaluation, the director of a new careers training demonstration usually thinks last about *career* aspects of the program. A quick review of the new careers projects across the country indicates that it is no longer necessary to demonstrate that non-professionals can be trained to perform functions traditionally in the domain of the professional.

Future new careers efforts should be linked to an in-service training program which allows a non-professional to proceed, for example, from an aide to an associate and on up to the status of a professional without additional college or other academic training. A trainee can learn the skills he needs on the job under the supervision of an experienced worker in such an apprenticeship program. It can be done. Brendan Sexton has noted in avenues of employment with no rigid professional standards but with the need for professional capability at the leadership level highly qualified people lacking formal education often head major organizations.

> "Labor unions . . . have had to use the academically untrained to fill professional and semi-professional jobs, but only rarely have they provided educational programs through which the individual could supplement his in-service training experience. By middle-class standards, shop stewards, business agents, and union presidents may not measure up in manners or language skills, but they have built and administered successful unions. If the term professional has any meaning, surely George Meany, Walter Reuther, I. W. Abel, David Dubinsky, Paul Jennings, and thousands of experienced personnel in labor are as professional as the routine Ph.D.
>
> Business leaders are regarded by many professionals as rigid and inflexible, but they are more likely than is the professional to judge a person by demonstrated capacity rather than caste membership. Thus, General Motors President James M. Roche could rise to that position though his formal schooling ended with the twelfth grade, while a recent predecessor of his, Harlow Curtice, attended school for only about ten years."[4]

The task is enormous. It involves changing the job specifications and certification requirements which are the hallmarks of the professional. As such, they will be defended with uncommon zeal. However, unless and until meaningful career opportunities are developed for non-professionals, new careers will remain just an idea.

New Jersey Experience

Recent experience in New Jersey with new careers projects is both instructive and interesting. Several participants in the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute's project to train non-professionals to design and administer adult education courses in poverty neighborhoods were offered, and a few accepted jobs with public school adult education programs. However, none of these positions effectively utilized the trainee's skills and knowledge and none provided career opportunities. Most of the graduates were hired by community action agencies.

Another Institute new careers effort, a program to train non-professionals for work in city planning, so far has turned up little. Although there was general agreement on the need for more planners, state and local officials would not create a sufficient number of new slots for graduates of the program.

Repeated failure to convince adult educators to use non-professional instructors and programmed materials to reach New Jersey's 750,000 adult illiterates led to the so-called "Farmer Report"[5] —which proposes using non-professional literacy instructors in classes outside regular public schools.

Civil Service Jobs

The New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity is beginning a major demonstration designed to open state civil service jobs to the poor. It was originally designed to provide new careerists in the Department of Institutions and Agencies. However, the program's initial success has been in creating the positions of Migrant Inspector Aide and Draw-Bridge Operator. Although the current career possibilities in these jobs seem slight, the future may be more fruitful. The program will assist various state agencies to meet their manpower shortages by recruiting and training the disadvantaged to qualify for chronically unfilled entry-level jobs. While some of these slots may not offer career opportunities, it is a start, and will encourage state agencies to create human service jobs for the poor.

The program suggests a strategy for effectively working with state civil service. Career Development Specialists with the responsibility of identifying or creating employment possibilities for disadvantaged persons are assigned to various state agencies. Although the Specialists are paid with project funds, they are under the direct supervision of the agency personnel officer. This arrangement tends to allay fears that changes will be imposed rather than developed cooperatively.

. . . *For the Poor?*

What is a new careerist? Is he a non-professional? Is he poor? Or unemployed? Is he simply any poor person according to OEO guidelines? Does he have a high school diploma or is he a college graduate who is underemployed and/or poor? Originally all non-professionals were middle class types: college graduates who did not have enough social work or education credits for certification.

It seems clear that the present new careers demonstrations are not designed for the so-called hard-core poor. The projects usually require some sophistication in oral and written communications and a high degree of motivation. Additionally, trainees are often selected for the assumed ability to relate to the people to be served by the program. Thus, a Negro is chosen to work in the Negro community and a Puerto Rican to serve the Spanish-speaking area—with little concern for the level of their income.

The nature of the work in most of the projects combined with the natural desire for success on the part of the trainer means that the trainees are usually a pretty sophisticated lot. This has prompted one cynic to label the programs "new careers for ringers."

This "creaming" in the early stages of the development of the concept is inevitable and probably necessary. It would certainly be excused if in the process these "ringers" were able to destroy or effectively skirt institutional barriers to careers for non-professionals in the human services.

Prospects for Success

Success will come not when someone in the professional establishment accepts the value of having a friendly neighborhood face in the classroom, but when, for example, school officials are overwhelmed by the facts of the labor market. Government support for the education and health industries is creating a demand for staff which cannot be satisfied by the current level of college and professional school graduates.

A recent survey by the New Jersey Department of Education indicated that unless certain conditions affecting the supply side of the market are changed, ". . . New Jersey will be short a total of 2,000 well-prepared teachers per year by 1975."[6]

Turning to health, a joint research project of the U. S. Public Health Service and American Hospital Association found, ". . . that the nation's 7,100 hospitals need 109,000 employees to fill existing vacancies and require an added 166,000 to improve the quality of medical care."[7]

Trainers in the new careers field should be close enough to the institutions and agencies in their area to know when the local market has created the conditions favorable to acceptance of the idea. When such conditions arise, the opportunity for the initiation of a real new careers project would be possible.

For the Future

On the horizon are several encouraging items:

. . . the Scheuer Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act provides training and employment with career possibilities for non-professionals in public service jobs.

. . . a program initiated in New York by District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees will train nurses aides to become licensed practical nurses.

. . . the beginning of a new careers movement uniting professionals and non-professionals in an effort to provide some political clout and gain some publicity for the concept.

These and other programs emphasize careers not just jobs. It has been demonstrated that non-professionals are needed and can be trained to perform many tasks presently performed by professionals. It is now time to develop career opportunities for these entry-level positions.

For trainers, the implications are clear—they must do the "dirty work" by encouraging potential agencies to create new jobs for the poor—and then by negotiating with them on the terms and conditions of these new jobs. A review of new careers projects indicates that there is no consistent strategy for agency negotiations[8] but one thing is certain—it must be done if anything is to come of the grand dream.

REFERENCES

[1]Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman. "New Careers for the Poor," The Free Press, 1965, p. 13.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Robert Pruger. "The Establishment of a 'New Career' Program in a Public School," Contra Costa Council of Community Services, Publication 107, Mar. 1966.

[4]"Realistic Vistas for the Poor," *The Progressive,* Vol. 29, Oct., 1965, p. 32.

[5]Known officially as the Report of the Governor's Task Force on Adult Literacy Opportunities. James Farmer served as a consultant to the Task Force.

[6]Office of Teacher Education and Certification and the Office of Statistical Services, State of New Jersey, Department of Education, "Imbalances in Teacher Supply in New Jersey," Dec., 1966, p. vi. It is interesting to note that the report suggests a stepped-up teacher education and recruitment effort to meet the teacher shortage problem.

[7]Reported in the *Wall Street Journal,* Dec. 2, 1966. The article mentioned the potential for new careers in hospitals but found barriers in institutions as well as state licensing rules, rigid educational requirements and "the professional groups . . . (who) jealously guard their job prerogatives, often opposing the introduction of labor-saving aides. The ostensible objection is that use of inexperienced workers will lower the quality of patient care but the more fundamental concern may be job security."

[8]See e.g. Robert Pruger, *op. cit.;* Jacob Fishman, *et. al,* "Training for New Careers," The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, June 1965, pp. 41-45.

MOTIVATION AND NEW CAREERS TRAINING*

by Barry A. Passett

Our next witness is Mr. Barry A. Passett, who is director of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute in Trenton, N. J.

Senator Harris. We are very pleased that you are here this morning and we will be pleased to hear what you are doing at the Institute.

Statement of Barry A. Passett, Director, New Jersey Community Action Training Institute; accompanied by Glenn Parker and Albert R. Fleming.

Mr. Passett. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Barry A. Passett, director of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, which is a nonprofit corporation created to provide training services for agencies and people working in the war against poverty. Our corporation is not attached to any university or other educational institution. Our strength comes from local community action organizations.

Our responsibility for training under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity includes antipoverty activities in Delaware and New York City as well as New Jersey.

The institute has a strong commitment to the program for new careers for the poor.

Yesterday, I attended the funeral of a man committed to new careers and expansion and improvement of public services. Today I want to discuss new careers and its relationship to the motivation of the poor and the unemployed.

Other institute activities relate to the committee's focus of concern, and I shall be happy to answer questions on them.

I might note here that the tragic events of the past week provide us as a Nation with a new opportunity to translate research into action, to begin to implement the programatic recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, on which you, Mr. Chairman, did such a creative job, and particularly its recommendation for 1 million public service jobs. I will therefore keep my remarks brief.

Barely in its developmental stages as an antipoverty concept, new careers needs to be examined as a strategy for motivating the hardcore poor. Briefly, new careers involves the creation of a wide range of new nonprofessional jobs in human service occupations. Most important, however, is that the jobs must be permanent and the first step in a career track leading to the professional position. The same system applies in the private sector; but I am not convinced that that sector has the same capacity to create the jobs and provide the incentives and training. Before turning to the motivational aspects of the concept, let me indicate its appeal to some of the other relevant factors:

Labor market analysts see it shoring up the supply side of the market for social workers, teachers, nurses, and other human service occupations. The shortages now and those projected for the future are well known. Since these nonprofessional aides will perform many of the routine tasks of the professionals, it is suggested that fewer professionals will be needed.

Social theorists view the added manpower as a means of improving service. This is crucial since, especially in the urban areas, the poor will be principal beneficiaries of the better service. In Jersey City and New York the institute recently participated in a program to hire and train relocation aides to work in the urban renewal program. Their work made the difficult process of relocation for black and Puerto Rican residents less painful by carefully explaining the procedures and obtaining needed services.

The new careers approach says give people real jobs immediately; then build in training, education, and counseling. This approach runs counter to established employment programs. Normally, we say to the unemployed "get yourself together," and then we'll talk about a job. This means get your education and training, understand the world of work (supervision, punctuality, discipline) and most important, "be motivated." MDTA institutional training is based on this concept.

This approach has not worked. People with a history of failure in school, work, and family life and with genuine belief that "the man" has never paid off on any of his promises are not likely to respond to a call of self-improvement in hopes of getting a job.

We need to create—and I am convinced that we can create—hundreds of thousands of entry-level subprofessional jobs which can be performed by people with minimal education and training. Put people to work in these jobs, give them oppor-

*Testimony before the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, Honorable Fred R. Harris, Subcommittee Chairman, April, 1968.

tunities for advancement based on additional education and training, and the motivation will surface.

The opportunity factor is crucial. For years in some human service fields, especially the health occupations, there have always been a large number of subprofessional jobs. The work is usually dirty. More important, however, is the lack of a rational system for promotion to a more attractive position. There is, therefore, no hope, no way out of poverty. The person is forever among the working poor.

In most hospital systems, for example, a woman cannot remain working as a nurse's aide and obtain the necessary education and training to become a licensed practical nurse. Poor people are simply not in a position to give up a job in order to enroll in a training program.

A recent project, by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and the Department of Hospitals in New York City, dealt with this problem. Under a MDTA demonstration grant, nurse's aides are being trained in the skills necessary for promotion to practical nurse. This breakthrough must be followed up to prevent a bottleneck at the practical nurse level.

Here, therefore, is one solution to the motivation dilemma: There is serious manpower shortage in the human services—education, welfare, and health. We can create a large number of subprofessional jobs to relieve the pressure and improve services. With minimal pre-service training and counseling, we can put people to work in these jobs. Further, the jobs should lead to other jobs which, in turn, result in a career opportunity. Training, education, and other supportive services should be provided to make the opportunity a reality. The cost would be high. A commitment on the part of the public sector would be required—a commitment to new standards and volume of service, and to new responsibilities for supervisors. A program recently conducted by the training institute in New Jersey and by my associates, Glenn Parker and Robert Moore, highlights some of the problems in implementing a new careers program. It also suggests some solutions. And it has important bearing on the motivation of the hardcore poor.

As part of a larger new careers effort, 15 adult men—Negro and Puerto Rican—were recruited for positions as code enforcement aids to be placed with the city's housing inspections division. All were unskilled and had unstable employment histories. Several had police records and regularly got "high" on marijuana and wine.

When the institute entered the picture as the training resource, the aids lacked motivation and were, in general, not prepared for a training or work experience. They were "street wise" and, therefore, saw that no real opportunity existed. They were prepared to take the program stipend and do little else. Their estimate of the situation was correct. There were no job descriptions, no established career track for promotions, no supervision, and no counseling and orientation. They responded accordingly by arriving late, leaving early, and refusing to participate effectively in the basic education program. The program was a sham; and, as a result, poor work norms were established.

The institute was instrumental in establishing realistic job descriptions, a rational career ladder leading to housing inspector, a system for in-service training and education; and a process of supervision by the housing inspections division. All of these changes were brought to the attention of the aids through our training methodology, in the hopes of setting new norms.

This was done in the preservice orientation and training period which stressed self-awareness, individual goal setting, and group support. The institute and the chief housing inspector cooperated in this effort. The aids saw clearly that a real job existed and what they had to do to retain the job and take advantage of the career opportunities built into the system. They saw, for example, that they would not be able to enter most homes to make an inspection if they had the smell of wine on their breath. Result: a new work norm was established. That change could not have taken place had the reason for the norm—the job—not been firmly established.

Other work norms relating to appropriate demeanor followed.

I am convinced that, given an opportunity and appropriate support, poor people can be motivated. I suggest that the new careers concept contain those elements.

Mr. Chairman, I have submitted for your information through the staff several articles that we prepared on various aspects of this general question.

SENATOR HARRIS. Good. Without objection, those will be received into the committee files.

I take it, Mr. Passett, that what you are saying is very much the same as the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders said, and I quote:

"A sure method for motivating the hard-core

unemployed has not yet been devised. One fact, however, is already clear from the experience of the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps and Manpower Development and Training Project. The previously hard-core unemployed trainee or employee must believe that he is not being trained for or offered a deadend job."

I think, too, though, that it isn't quite correct to say, out of a desire to protect the good name of the poor or disadvantaged, that they all will respond to the offering of training or a job, because we have so much experience to the contrary.

I think you and I would agree that the great majority of poor people have the same kind of motivation and desires that we all have today, and those percentages of the poor will respond with alacrity to any kind of offered opportunity. But I don't think there is any way we can deny that there are a great many people from disadvantaged or deprived backgrounds who have lost a great deal of their motivation or their hope or self-confidence, and that thereby are limited somewhat in their ability to take advantage of opportunities.

I give you two examples that we have heard of in other hearings separate from these. For example, a building trades union local here in Washington initiated an apprenticeship program, recruited actively, and paid stipends during the training period. There was a real job at the end of the period as an apprentice and then a journeyman in the local building trade union, but most of the trainees dropped out very early in the program before its completion.

Another is a Chicago business which decided that in being the last major employer in a very rapidly deteriorating slum, they had to make some investment in the slum or else move away. They initiated, without Federal funds, a training program with stipends, and a real job at the end. Yet most of their trainees dropped out before the completion of the program.

In addition to saying that the important thing was that people know there was a career ahead and career ladder and so forth, and how that changed the success and experience of your program, you also pointed out that:

"This was done in the preservice orientation and training period which stressed self-awareness, individual goal setting and group support."

In other words, you felt in addition to just telling the fellow that there was a real job, and a real opportunity for advancement, apparently he had to do something else. It is that something else we are particularly interested in.

MR. PASSETT. I agree quite wholeheartedly, Senator, that there is something else. The reason I stress the point so strongly is that we have a long tradition of making people get set for employment and ready for it, and then the job comes at the end of the road. I was stressing very strongly the fact that if the job is there first, then these other programs that we engage in—and they include training, counseling and other things which I think we know quite a bit about—can take, can become a lot more effective, and a lot of the things that we do know a whole lot about suddenly begin to work, or they at least should work.

SENATOR HARRIS. I wonder if we do know very much about it. I mean, we all agree that first your hope must be real, and that is the problem about so many of the training programs in America today—they don't lead anywhere. We train people to get ready, to get motivated and to get trained and then there is no job. I think that is a major thing you have said, and one with which I certainly agree. Hope must be real. The training and counseling must obviously lead to something.

But past that, I wonder if we do know much about the motivation and the many other factors involved.

You know, I think there are a great many people in America, and I am not talking just about Negroes, I am talking, for example, about poor whites in eastern Oklahoma who, if you went there with a loudspeaker and said, "There is a real job if you will just sign up with this program," I think would still hold back.

MR. PASSETT. Absolutely. Normally we pick people up at the point where they have been enrolled by some sort of outreach process in new careers programs. Both in New York City and in New Jersey, where local community action agencies or community corporations in the New York experience, have had a good deal of success in their outreach. They have been able to bring people in. They have had a much more mixed success in being able to hold them in programs as you describe to the point where the job really takes.

What we have been trying to provide is that glue between the outreach and the more permanent setting in the job situation. That involves a strongly process-oriented kind of training, which is designed to (1) increase their self-awareness, (2) to help them set their own goals, and also, very significantly, (3) for the group to support all its members, and to support individuals in the

kind of goals they are setting for themselves, and help them keep those goals extremely realistic.

SENATOR HARRIS. Can you describe those in any more detail. How you go about that?

MR. PASSETT. Well, I should at this point turn this over to the people who actually did the Paterson Code Enforcement Aide project.

SENATOR HARRIS. Are some of them with you?

MR. PASSETT. Yes.

SENATOR HARRIS. If you would like to call them up, it would be fine. Just call them up and identify them.

MR. PASSETT. Glenn Parker, who was the training chief on the Paterson project is here with me.

Why don't you just go through the early part of the curriculum and that program?

SENATOR HARRIS. Tell us what you did, for example, with respect to self-awareness?

MR. PARKER. Well, before we started any kind of training, we met with the enrollees, got to know them, and talked with them about the program, I think what we tried to lay out for them was: Here are the steps. Here are the things that you can do. Here is a job as a code enforcement aide. Here are some of the requirements for the job. Let's look at some of the things you are going to have to do.

We looked at that in some of the training. This is a job that requires public contact. You have to go into people's homes. You are going to have to be admitted to those homes to make inspections, to enforce the code. Then we did some role playing of those kinds of situations. We did some role playing where a housewife was called upon at a home at 10 or 11 in the morning. And you have to be admitted voluntarily to the home to make the inspection.

SENATOR HARRIS. Doesn't a lot of that have to do with self-confidence?

MR. PARKER. That is correct. And I think they saw that their appearance, how they dressed, how they comported themselves, what their general look was was going to make some difference as to whether they were admitted to that home or not. And then in the role playing of these situations, that was highlighted to the enrollees. I think that brought it home to them. They realized that they would be working not only in their own neighborhoods, the black and the Puerto Rican neighborhoods; but they would also probably have to be making inspections in white neighborhoods, and they were black, and they were Puerto Rican, and the difficulties of making an entry into a home in those neighborhoods.

SENATOR HARRIS. How did you learn to deal with the questions of self-confidence and self-awareness, or did you just have to make up your philosophy as you went along about the methods you would use? For example, what is significant about the method of role playing?

MR. PARKER. Well, the role playing is an integral part of most of the community action training that we do. It is one variation of various kinds of simulations of real experiences that the trainees are going to encounter, and we try to make that kind of training as realistic as possible. Now, the classroom training, including the simulations, was also combined with field experience, where the enrollees were teamed up with regular experienced housing inspectors, and went out in the field as kind of an apprentice inspector and learned to do an inspection in the field with a regular inspector.

SENATOR HARRIS. Did you develop these methods yourself or did you get them from books, advice, or what?

MR. PARKER. Well, the methodology of role playing has been used for a number of years in adult education and in training, both in industry and in government, and what we do is we develop situations that are relevant to the particular training that we are doing.

For example, when we came across this question of what kind of difficulties would you encounter in entering a home, we, on the spot, developed a situation with a woman who was a member of the staff acting as a housewife, reluctant to open a door to a stranger who was trying to make an inspection. And she commented on appearance and other factors as to whether she would be willing to allow someone to enter her home.

MR. PASSETT. A lot of this seems to be very unusual. We are constantly told that our training techniques are very unusual or very revolutionary. Really they are not. They are in the mainstream of the more advanced adult education techniques that are being used or have been developed at least over the last 10 or 20 years.

SENATOR HARRIS. It seems to me, Mr. Passett, and that is one of the purposes of these hearings, that they are not being used.

MR. PASSETT. Yes. Big industry has been able to afford to use them, but public programs have not.

SENATOR HARRIS. For example, the business agents of the carpenters union says, "Look, we had this program and we were paying these people to come to the training program and we were going

to teach them to be first-rate apprentices in the carpenter trade, and they could move right on up and become journeymen, and they all dropped out, so it is hopeless. Why should we just keep on? There isn't anything we can do about it. They just are not interested. They don't want to work, and therefore we are just not going to try it any more."

My point is that we need more programs, with the kinds of experiences that you have had, which do a little more than teach this fellow how to be a carpenter. He comes with a certain kind of special problem that we have to deal with. Just as he doesn't have any knowledge of how to be a carpenter, he also lacks social skills in how to live in society, in a modern society.

I think that isn't generally understood, and that is the essence of these hearings.

MR. PASSETT. I was going to say that the one difference or the significant difference, and this would apply to the carpenter as well as the code enforcement aide, is that all of our training begins with where the trainees are, and with their needs.

One of the problems in the educational system is that it always starts with where the system is and where it wants to go. Now, any first-grader is going to start with whatever the first-grade reader is for that class, no matter what his needs are, and it is the same, I would suppose, in the case of the carpenters. The group of people are going to be taught what the chief carpenter wants them to know, without any relation to their own needs. What we have learned comes out of the experience of dealing with people taking on wholly new jobs in the field of community organization, which is new in the American experience. You have to start with where the group of trainees is, what are its needs, its aspirations, and goals, and then work from there to develop the curriculum that is a compromise between the goals of the group and the goals of the system into which the group is trying to integrate itself. And the code enforcement project is a good example.

We have done the same with adult education aides and relocation aides and people in welfare and education subprofessional positions as well. It is extremely important to start with where they want to go, and then look at where the system wants them to go, and then try to have them move step by step across a lattice, in a sense, as they go up and learn more skills. The same system should be utilized in working with top managers like superintendents of schools or welfare directors.

SENATOR HARRIS. What I want to try to extract from these hearings is what it is that you can write down and tell people that they can do. Even if, say, they are not the most dedicated teachers, if you could refine the methodology you use, you would have something. Of course what is happening now in lots of places, projects are based almost entirely on dedication.

For example, in the firm I was talking about in Chicago, 92 out of 100 of their trainees dropped out, a lot of them left on coffeebreaks. They felt they were in prison. When the coffeebreak came, they just left and never came back. A lot of people I think would have done what this building trade local I was talking about did. They just said, "That just shows you there is nothing you can do with these people. We are paying good money, we are paying them a stipend and we have a job for them and they are just not going to do it. So it is hopeless."

What that company did was to decide that they were going to try it one more time. "There must be something that we can do other than just put the fellow out there on the line and try to teach him the job that might keep him in." And now that is working. But it is working really just on kind of muddling through. They don't know exactly what they are doing, but they have taken the large group and have broken them down into small groups of six apiece and use a kind of buddy system. It seems to be working, but they don't know exactly why it is working, except that they are trying to do more and take more interest in the person as a human being—more than just to teach him how to run a lathe or whatever.

Well, that is what particularly interests me. Something else is involved. That is why I am interested in what you are doing in that field, because of your successes. Did you want to say something further?

Why don't you identify yourself for the record here?

MR. FLEMING. I am Al Fleming, also of the training institute.

I think, Senator, that part of the methodology has to be involved with the trainee himself in the whole process. I think a lot of our success is based on this, that we do in this initial step in the program development stage sit down with the trainee and have him help us develop a curriculum, so that he feels he is a part of the process, and that he can move up, on a step-by-step basis as the program progresses. He can then recognize that his expectations, what he told us in the beginning, are being met in the program, by us, by his peers, by himself.

SENATOR HARRIS. Let me ask you this. I am

trying to find some universal principles here which might be important not just for your type of program but, say, for the public school system.

By that kind of approach, perhaps one of the things you are doing, and Dr. Kenneth Clark and others have found is often not present in a ghetto school, is that you are saying, "I believe you can learn. I have faith that you can learn." And often, as Clark and others have found, teachers in the ghetto schools don't believe they can learn, and they oblige.

It is that kind of principle that we are particularly looking for.

Another may be the type of relationship with the teacher. Some of us can learn without any close relationship with the teacher; that is, in a purely authoritarian situation. Others may need to be asked to take a part in the learning process themselves, to be involved in deciding what sort of course they will have, and may necessarily have to have some kind of close, warm, and personal relationship with the person that is attempting to do the teaching. That may be a principle also involved in what you are doing. Do any of you have any comment on that?

Mr. Parker. Yes. One example from these code enforcement aides that we have been referring to. When they first reported for work, the first day they came at 9 o'clock to the city housing inspections division, and they discovered that there was nothing for them to do. They were supposed to begin in their on-the-job training phase, to be going out, as I said, in teams with experienced housing inspectors. Well, between 9 and 10 in the morning the inspectors set up their appointments for the day to go out into the field and make inspections. At this time the aides had nothing to do.

Well, by Tuesday or Wednesday they were coming in at 9:15, 9:30, or closer to 10. What they were seeing was that there was no work for them, so why come in on time. The chief inspector simply applied some intelligence and some concern to this situation. Since he was not involved in making these appointments, he said, "I will meet with you between 9 and 10 and we will talk about what you did yesterday in going out into the field."

Well, that is employing some intelligence, but also some concern, and he said to them, "Be here at 9 o'clock. I will be here at 9." And they came at 9, and I think that is significant.

Senator Harris. Very good. I think it is, too. When I was in Harlem recently, I visited with some people about various kinds of programs. One man, a very good man, who is active in several human resources development programs there in Harlem said, "I wish we could abolish the local Neighborhood Youth Corps program and start over." He said, "It does this one thing. It does put some money in the hands of families who need it. But I am afraid that the long-range effect of what we are doing is destructive, because these kids just really are involved in a sort of playing at work. They know it. The people administering the program know it. And it really probably is more destructive than it is helpful." What you are talking about fits in with that a little bit, that is, to know that the trainee really is going somewhere, and that what he is doing has some meaning for him individually. We do not just want to carry out a program that helps get money in somebody's hands. Does that have any parallel with what you tried first and what you did second?

Mr. Parker. I think very, very directly, because it is probably the case that most Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs don't lead to anything permanent. If they do, they lead to jobs which don't have any kind of opportunity for advancement. I think that the kind of new careers, subprofessional jobs that we are talking about do have that built in, if they are good programs. They do have that built in, that a person can move from an aide to an assistant to an associate, and perhaps to a professional position, with additional training, with additional counseling, with additional educational opportunities which should be and need to be built into the system, so one can get a high school equivalency, one can get a license or one can begin college, in order to get the credentials necessary in order to move up, but also to get the experience and the knowledge necessary to do the job. I think that is crucial to this program.

Senator Harris. Very good.

Anything further?

Mr. Passett. You were reaching, Senator, to a point before, regarding the relationship between the trainer and the trainee that I thought was somewhat important, in light of your earlier point concerning the school system. Just an additional emphasis on the fact that it is extremely useful if the trainees can identify in some way with the trainer. It multiplies the efficiency of the training program significantly if, for whatever reason, they can feel that the trainer, through this process of developing a program with them, is identifying with them without, as was stated in previous

testimony that I heard this morning, without going too far in that identification and thereby losing the thread of the entire process that he is involved in. Once again, it has been our ability to hire people for their competence, their ability to identify with and, therefore, motivate the disadvantaged, and their commitment to social justice that has been our strength. If we had to worry about degrees or publications or other irrelevant paper considerations, we probably could not have done the job. It seems that only OEO has been willing to subsidize efforts like ours, outside the mainstream of the educational system. If more such training programs could be developed, we could be more helpful to your inquiry.

SENATOR HARRIS. Very good. A very stimulating discussion.

Thank you very much.

THE POOR BRING ADULT EDUCATION TO THE GHETTO

by Barry A. Passett and Glenn M. Parker

Training made it possible for 24 poor people—most of them unemployed or on welfare—to provide educational experience to more than 700 adults living in six urban ghettoes of New Jersey. As adult education aides, non-professionals could get to an adult poverty population that had not been reached by the school system.

The training was provided in a demonstration that was designed to: (1) develop new career opportunities for non-professionals in adult education programming; (2) test new methods of bringing adult education to residents of low-income neighborhoods, and (3) test the capability of three training resources.

Some of the trainees had high school diplomas —but many were dropouts. They had no experience in developing, administering or evaluating adult education courses of any kind. By the end of the demonstration, the trainees had designed and were conducting more than 50 different adult education courses for disadvantaged people in their own neighborhoods. The courses included housing problems, sewing, typing, shorthand, Social Security benefits and many other subjects.

One enterprising aide in Camden could not get target area residents to sign up for a history class. To get people interested, one night he held a three-hour session on the History of Jazz. Twenty-three people attended and 19 decided to continue participating in classes on the history of the Negro. And a visitor to an afternoon shorthand class found every seat taken and had to stand in the rear of the room until the session ended.

The pilot project provided non-professionals with on-the-job training experience on how to survey a disadvantaged neighborhood to find out what kind of adult education courses the people wanted and needed. Then the aides were trained to use local resources to determine the courses that should be taught, to plan an adult education program, to recruit teaching staff, to assist in administering the program and to help mobilize the community.

Adult education is an uncharted area for the "new careers" concept. Even the adult educator himself is a newcomer to the ranks of the professional. Only a few universities offer graduate degrees in adult education and most of those are of recent origin. The director of a public school adult program usually begins his career by teaching a few courses in the evening while filling a full-time teaching job at a public school. Gradually, he moves into the adult program. He then must compete with the groups outside of public education—labor unions, churches, civic groups—who have taken upon themselves the responsibility for programs of adult education.

This situation has made it impossible to define clear career ladders for a non-professional in the area of adult education. There are, in fact, very few permanent jobs for non-professionals in the entire field—and most of those were created with Title II-B Economic Opportunity Act funds. However, the New Jersey effort has proven that the need for non-professionals in this area is significant, particularly as the number of programs increase and as they try to reach more people in economically deprived neighborhoods.

The training program was conducted by the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute. To obtain the freedom necessary for a demonstration, it was agreed that for the duration of the project—two of the programs ran for five (5) months, one for six (6) months— the trainees would be employed by community action agencies. The participating agencies were Middlesex County Economic Opportunities Corporation, Jersey City CAN-DO, Camden Council on Economic Opportunity, Community Action for Economic Opportunity (Elizabeth) and Atlantic Human Resources.

One half of their stipends was funded by the Training Institute and the remainder was provided by the CAA. The stipends ranged from $300 to $333 per month depending upon the salary scale of the Agency. All the participating CAAs made commitments at the outset to hire the trainees at the end of the demonstration. (It was made clear that attempts would be made to develop jobs in the school system for the trainees.) However, because of cutbacks in the CAP funds, not all of these commitments were met.

The Trainees

The trainees were recruited from target neighborhoods by the community action agencies. The

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following selection criteria used by one of the programs is typical:

. . . residence—candidates were required to be residents of indigent communities in the cities in which they lived.
. . . economic status—candidates had to meet the federal poverty guidelines.
. . . demonstrated leadership ability.
. . . involvement in community activites.
. . . chronic unemployment or underemployment.
. . . interest in adult education.
. . . ability to read and communicate.
. . . general appearance.

The background of the trainees selected for the program is significant. Of the twenty-four who completed the program, one-half were welfare recipients or unemployed when selected. The remainder were employed in low-wage jobs such as hospital attendant, factory operative and waitress. The educational attainment of the trainees ranged from six who had not completed high school to three who had completed college but were unemployed because of physical or psychological handicaps. Fifteen trainees had completed high school. There was no significant relationship between educational attainment and success in the program.

The demonstration began with 30 trainees. However, six aides were lost to the program for a variety of reasons: accepting more gainful employment, alcoholism, illness, and disagreement with the CAP agency over the use of the aides.

The Trainers

The program was conducted under contract by three agencies, each with a different training style:

. . . The Bureau of Community Services, a part of the Extension Division of Rutgers-The State University, provided ten trainees in Jersey City, Camden and New Brunswick with a traditional university adult learning experience.
. . . A private consulting firm, Scientific Resources, Inc. (S.R.I.), emphasized sensitivity training and other laboratory educational techniques in a program conducted for six trainees in Elizabeth.
. . . Atlantic Human Resources, Inc. (AHR), the community action agency for Atlantic and Cape May Counties, made adult education a part of its total anti-poverty effort in a program for eight trainees.

The total cost of the three programs was approximately $100,000. Rutgers and SRI received the largest grants because of higher overhead and administrative costs. However, it was assumed that the projects would benefit from the other resources which the university and consulting firm could provide in the way of assistance to the program.

In format the Rutgers and AHR programs were similar. The Rutgers program began with a week of classroom training after which the aides were placed under CAP supervision in the field for four days each week. One day a week they returned for further classroom training and a discussion of on-the-job problems. The AHR program differed only in that it began with two weeks of class work.

After three days of orientation, the SRI aides began a process which involved dividing their day between classroom training and field work. This was possible since all of the trainees in this group worked in Elizabeth while the other two programs included trainees from several widely scattered cities.

The Training Program

Although as outlined above the approach of the trainers differed considerably the basic goals of the three programs were similar. Specifically, the aides were trained to and did perform the following tasks:

Survey a Low-Income Neighborhood — The premise of the program was that every course set up should be based on the expressed needs of the potential students. It was based on the assumption that one of the reasons that poor people were not utilizing existing adult education programs was that they were not related to their needs. In addition to being a crucial prerequisite for the establishment of the courses, the survey provided valuable field training for the aides.

Survey of Community Agencies and Organizations — While surveying the low-income neighborhood, the aides also determined what resources in the community might be helpful to the program. In addition to the public school adult education director, they contacted churches, civil rights groups, public officials and other community groups and leaders who might provide the aides with information on programs to which they could refer people who could not be accommodated by their program.

Establish an Adult Education Course — Upon the completion of the survey each aide established a course. The course dealt with the subject most needed by the people interviewed in the survey. It was held at a time which the survey indicated

as most convenient for those wishing to take the course. The courses set up included typing, shorthand, basic education, preparation for the high school equivalency test, Negro history, and sewing, among others. Approximately 700 people participated in the courses run by the aides in the three projects.

Arrange for the Classroom Facility — The aides had the option of using any facility that would meet the test of convenience for the students. As a result only a few classes were held in schools. Most were located in such places as churches, neighborhood centers, community rooms of housing projects and in homes. In every case, however, it was the aide's responsibility to obtain the facility.

Arrange for the Instructor — No criterion other than ability to do the job, was used to select the instructor. As a result, both professional and non-professional instructors were used. In many cases the aides taught the course. For example, several women taught sewing while other aides taught basic education with programmed materials. In some cases the project staff and others in the community assisted the aides in locating an appropriate instructor.

Recruitment of the Students — After the courses were established, the aides went back to those who had indicated interest in the course during the survey. This group provided the nucleus for each class. Enrollment was increased by (a) direct recruitment by the aides on a door-to-door basis, (b) door-to-door recruitment by those already interested in the course, and (c) publicity by community organizations.

After the class began the aide's job turned to retention of the students. When a student failed to attend a class, the aide made a home visit to determine the reason for the absence and to encourage return to class. This expression of concern was a unique feature of the program.

Evaluation of the Course — At the end of each course, the aides were responsible for the conduct of an evaluation. The methods of evaluation differed in the three programs. Some used a student opinion and attitude questionnaire. In some basic education classes, reading and arithmetic tests were administered prior to and at the end of the course to determine progress.

The Goals of the Project— Some Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Non-professionals lacking training and experience in adult education programming can be trained to perform on a limited basis many tasks now conducted only by professionals. While it is clear that the aides in this demonstration could not manage a total program offering a variety of courses they were able to carry through the process with one course. The key to the program was the field training which provided the trainees with the opportunity of performing all the steps involved in the development and conduct of a course. In fact, the procedure which they employed is considerably more elaborate than is generally followed in public school programs.

2. At the outset jobs with the CAP were assured for all the aides. All the participating CAPs agreed to include these slots in their succeeding OEO grant application. However, the cutback in CAP funds for 1967 meant that in some cases these jobs were not available at the end of the demonstration. Nevertheless, only three of the aides who wanted to work are unemployed as of this writing. Two other aides did not seek work because of family obligations.

Since there appeared to be jobs available for the aides upon completion of the demonstration, the project directors paid little attention to job placement until the last month of the program. However, five aides were offered jobs as aides with the school system—and three accepted these positions. The other two took positions with CAP programs offering higher salaries. More could have been done to develop other jobs with public school adult programs.

The offers of employment came about as a result of close cooperation between the aides and the adult educator directors in Camden and New Brunswick. The directors knew of the aides' work and wanted to have them continue their efforts in the city. It is probably true that a conscious effort along these lines in other cities would have resulted in the development of more non-CAP jobs.

Nevertheless, in addition to the three aides who were employed by public school adult programs, one took a position as a special education teacher, one was hired by SRI, and one by the Training Institute. The others went with CAP programs. All but three received salary increases in their new jobs.

3. It is clear that the success of the courses was directly related to the effectiveness of the survey. A good survey meant that the courses established were relevant to the needs of the students. Of the three training groups, the Rutgers trainees conducted the most thorough survey and they experienced the least problem with recruitment and retention of the students. This was true despite the fact that the courses were held during

a summer heat wave in facilities lacking air conditioning. Attendance problems in the other two programs can be attributed in part to a survey that lacked scope and depth. It is vital to base programs on the needs of the people.

The Rutgers survey also indicated that the poor people involved did not see basic education, as it is currently defined by the school system, as being job or income related. It is viewed as a something which is "nice to know" but unrelated to their immediate need which is "bread." Thus, they opted for typing, shorthand, GED preparation, sewing and tenant rights—courses which could lead to a job, help stretch the family income or improve their living conditions.

4. Use of non-school facilities proved to be a successful innovation. The public school was often viewed by the students as a place of past failure to which they did not want to return. Additionally, in some cases, it was not within easy access of their home. The most radical departure in classroom facility recorded in the program was the moving of one class to a neighborhood bar when attendance declined at an original class location. A few New Jersey public school adult classes are held now in non-school facilities. More movement in this direction is needed.

5. The demonstration did not have a structured comparative evaluation of the three trainers. However, each project submitted an evaluation report and the Institute project manager maintained regular contact with the agencies and frequently visited the programs.

In relation to the potential, access to the university contributed little to the Rutgers program. The sense of being part of a major university for a brief period of time may have had some motivational benefits but no significant tangible contribution was made by the university. SRI, on the other hand, brought in several members of its training and materials development staff to assist the project staff at various times. AHR also contributed both staff resources and facilities of its project and integrated the efforts of the aides with the other components of the agency.

In terms of personal development of the aides, SRI clearly did the best job. Their sensitivity training and other laboratory techniques resulted in considerable personal growth and motivation. However, they failed to provide the aides with the knowledge and skills necessary for adult education programming. The Rutgers and, to a lesser extent, the AHR programs did a more effective job of training the aides to design and administer an adult education course. Their survey prior to the establishment of the course was also better As a result more low-income people were reached by the programs. It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the program would have been better served by a training curriculum which included both approaches.

6. Cooperation between this demonstration and on-going public school programs was uneven. In some cities effective cooperation was achieved and it clearly helped the program. Resources and assistance were provided by the public school staff and, most important, they received a clear picture of the program's results. It is significant that in the two cities where the best cooperation was achieved, the trainees were offered jobs with the school program. One of the major shortcomings of the project was the failure to involve the public school adult educators more effectively, both locally and at the State level. As a result the demonstration was viewed by some professionals as a threat. It should be noted, however, that New Jersey Community Action Training Institute had cooperated with Rutgers University in a week-long seminar for two dozen adult education supervisors. The seminar was focused on the needs of the poor.

7. Involvement of the CAP also varied considerably. The CAP conducted the AHR project and it was fully integrated into AHR's total effort. Trainees in the other programs experienced the problem of serving two masters — the CAP and the project staff.

As the Rutgers Project Director put it:

> The CAP was responsible for supervising the Aide on a daily basis and the project staff in all matters related to training. This arrangement proved to be extremely difficult because of the confusion created for the Aides. They were asked to serve two bosses and it is not possible to do this effectively.
>
> A complicating factor was that each supervisor had ultimate objectives that were somewhat different. The CAP Director was interested in his organizations and in initiating as many different programs as possible. This was certainly a reasonable objective for a CAP Director. Just as reasonable, however, was the interest by the project staff to try as many different techniques as possible on an experimental basis.

A somewhat different but related problem was reported by SRI:

> The full potential of communication between the Aides and CAFEO (CAP Agency) was not reached because:

a. of the demand placed on the Aides' time by the training curriculum and
b. the fact that due to lack of space the training facilities were separated from CAFEO headquarters. This resulted in the Aides being viewed as a separate entity instead of an integral component of CAFEO. They were in fact often referred to as the "SRI group."

The failure to fully integrate the work of the Aides with the on-going programs of the CAP must be assumed by the project staff and the Training Institute. A much better job of orientation initially and of continuous contact throughout the program with the CAP staff could have been done.

Demonstrations succeed only in so far as they impact established programs. The anti-poverty program in New Jersey and elsewhere has been criticized for the scarcity of programs for the adult poor. Professional adult educators, in turn, have been criticized by anti-poverty workers for their failure to reach a sizeable number of the poverty population. The ideas emanating from this demonstration suggest some remedies for those complaints.

The project took 24 poor people—most of them unemployed or on welfare—and gave them an opportunity for a job and perhaps a chance for a career. It did bring some fresh ideas to adult education programming and reach more than 700 low-income people with its courses. And it did demonstrate that nonprofessionals can be trained to perform many of the tasks of the professional adult educator.

NEW CAREERS IN PUBLIC WELFARE

by Glenn M. Parker

"Outmoded and in need of major change" was the way President Lyndon B. Johnson described the welfare system in 1967 when he established a Presidential Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. The Commission was directed to study substitutes for welfare such as the guaranteed annual income, negative income tax and family allowance.

Complete elimination of the welfare system is probably a long way off. Meanwhile, one method of improving the quality of service under the present structure may be the successful utilization of nonprofessional aides in public welfare agencies.

The New Jersey Civil Service Commission recently created the job title "welfare aide." Since all counties in the state are covered by civil service regulations, the county welfare boards may now hire nonprofessionals and give them civil service status. Almost simultaneously several local community action agencies have received Scheurer Amendment grants to hire and place nonprofessionals in public employment. Many of the Scheurer job slots are slated for city and county welfare departments.

Initially, the trainees will not be permanent employees of the welfare department since most will not have sufficient education or experience to qualify for the entry-level welfare aide position. They will be paid stipends from the Scheurer grant. However, the goal is to have the trainees qualify for civil service status and transfer to the welfare department payroll.

It seems clear from an examination of the welfare aide job description that vestiges of earlier thinking on the nonprofessional in social work still remain. About ten years ago, a new careerist or nonprofessional was someone with a college degree but lacking sufficient or appropriate credits for certification. Social workers were primarily responsible for this definition.[1] A number of demonstrations designed to test the effectiveness of this kind of nonprofessional have been conducted.[2] However, because of the educational requirements, none of the participants were from the population served by the poverty program.

The work of Frank Riessman and others has changed considerably the thinking of many on the use of nonprofessionals.[3] Yet more work must be done if the New Jersey welfare aide position exemplifies the current state of thinking. Although the establishment of this classification is clearly a breakthrough for "new careers," further thinking, and, indeed, some action is necessary.

Having made considerable reference to the welfare aide job description, it might be instructive to outline some of its salient features:

Definition: Under direction, performs clerical tasks and makes preliminary fact-finding investigations of financial and other resources of applicants and their families . . .;

Examples of Work: With minimal client contact, makes preliminary field investigations of applicants for public assistance and related welfare services in order to collect authenticated data concerning financial status, work histories, residence histories, the names and addresses of legally responsible and other relatives, and other information required for the determination of eligibility . . .;

Requirements: (1) graduation from High School or Vocational High School or possession of an approved High School Equivalent Certificate; (2) two years of experience in work involving the investigations of personal financial matters, credit, or other investigations.

Note: Full time attendance at a college or university of recognized standing may be subsituted for the above experience requirement on a year-for-year basis.

With this as background and with serious attempts being made to use low-income nonprofessionals as aides in public welfare agencies, an examination of some of the creative possibilities and some of the problems seems appropriate.

Creative Possibilities

One of the traditional arguments for the use of nonprofessionals is the need to meet the manpower shortages which face all human service occupations, including public welfare. While this is still very much true, equally compelling is the

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need to retain the current staff of caseworkers. Thus, it is quite possible that relieving caseworkers of many routine tasks and thereby allowing them to concentrate on the more creative counseling-helping aspects of their job would encourage them to remain with public welfare agencies.[4]

It is well known that after a few years of experience, many caseworkers leave the welfare department for jobs which not only have higher salaries but offer better opportunities for use of their skills.

More important, however, are the possibilities of improved service for the welfare client. The welfare aide can make some significant contributions toward the achievement of this goal. The aide can relieve the caseworker of much of the fact-finding investigations of the financial and other resources of the applicants needed to determine eligibility.

As a result the caseworker will have more time to devote to those families in his case load with a wide range of serious problems requiring significant input of his time and skill. However, limiting the aide's job to simply investigation does not reflect the thinking of progressive social theorists who see a movement in welfare from an emphasis on investigation to a focus on social service.[5]

Additionally, this investigation emphasis is impractical because (a) nonprofessionals can perform other tasks which will improve service to the recipient and (b) for career development purposes the aides need to learn the more positive helping aspects of the profession. At first, these tasks might involve working with families who do not have the more serious problems, but who, nevertheless, need various types of services. In these cases, the social worker often makes referrals to other community agencies which provide the needed service. However, lack of time often prevents follow-through by the caseworker to insure that the person reached the agency and obtained the necessary attention and service.

At this point the welfare aide enters the picture. He can provide the necessary assistance which gets the person to the service, i.e., baby sitting, transportation, appointments. He might also take the person to the agency, and, if necessary, act as his "advocate" to insure that the service is obtained. The aide should also followup with the recipient to determine the value and effect of the service. The task of follow-up for the caseworker could be applied to other areas as well.

It is extremely important that the aide learn to work with the families in such a helping fashion if this is indeed to be a career and not just a job. Only through this kind of experience can the nonprofessional learn the key elements of the caseworker's job: helping people.

In other human service agencies, considerable emphasis has been given to the use of nonprofessionals as a link between the agency and the community. This is equally important for public welfare in providing feedback and communications in a new and probably more effective manner. As a resident of the low-income community the aide is "accepted" and can move more easily through the neighborhood than can many professional social workers.

Additionally, the aide's knowledge of the neighborhood can be of more direct service to the recipient. With training, the aide can advise recipients on how and where to buy food, drugs, clothing, furniture and other items at reasonable prices. He can also organize self-help groups of welfare recipients, i.e. baby-sitting cooperatives.

Gertrude Goldberg has reported on a program which uses nonprofessionals in this manner.[6]

> Fifteen neighborhood women were employed by a social agency as visiting homemakers whose job was primarily to teach low-income families greater competence in home management. Assigned to homes for several full- or half-days a week, homemakers would help mothers to improve their skills in such home-management tasks as shopping, cleaning, sewing, budgeting, taking care of their children, planning their time, and cooking.
>
> In addition to home teaching, homemakers did a variety of other tasks, several of them indirectly educational. They offered some services traditionally done by case aides such as escorting persons to clinics and helping them to establish eligibility for public assistance or public housing (which were often efforts to teach the use of community resources). Like case aides they also provided companionship or psychological support as part of a casework plan. Homemakers maintained a baby-sitting center where mothers could leave their youngsters while they did errands or kept appointments. Finally, they performed the mother-substitute or mother's helper type of assignment usually associated with homemaker programs when it became necessary to complement existing city-wide homemaker services.

Some Problems

One of the major problems is the difficulty of developing a realistic career ladder which allows

a person to move from aide through a series of steps to caseworker. Simply creating the position of welfare aide as was recently done in New Jersey is not enough to satisfy the requirements of a new careers program. Several job levels between welfare aide and caseworker must be created and promotions based on added experience and training. John E. Hiland, Jr., Staff Associate, American Public Welfare Association, has suggested the ladder of *social work aide, social work assistant* and *social worker.*[7] We need to examine the social worker's job to see how it can be fractioned and a career ladder established for nonprofessionals. Perhaps two nonprofessional slots are sufficient—perhaps more are needed. And it may vary with the size of the agency.

The need to provide for careers rather than simply job opportunities has been treated extensively in the literature of new careers. Given the present system, it is extremely important, therefore, that opportunities for further formal education be made readily available to the nonprofessional. This means preparation for the equivalency certificate for the non-high school graduate and college training for those with high school diplomas.

In New Jersey the new Chancellor of Higher Education is seeking ways to bring college education to the State's disadvantaged population. The notion of college credit for field work experience —long accepted by several progressive private colleges for middle-class students—is one possible answer. The rapidly expanding community college network should be the principal vehicle although recent innovations by Fairleigh Dickinson University appear more promising. In cooperation with the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, Fairleigh Dickinson developed a model for the translation of field experience and training into college credits in its Nursery Education Program. The model was successfully tested in a six-month field training program conducted for the nonprofessional staff of the Newark Preschool Council.

Other restructuring of university education may also be necessary. Nadine Felton has proposed a Career Incentive Plan in which a non-professional's

> ". . . life experience (his knowledge of the disadvantaged environment, and his ability to communicate with the disadvantaged) and his work experience in the . . . field be considered as partial accreditation toward the completion of course work for a B.A. degree . . . Further, to make it possible for him to continue working at his job . . . the plan proposes that one-fifth or eight hours of the aide's working week be set aside so that he can attend college courses at the job site, if possible; or at special centers for such instruction, or at a nearby cooperating college.[8]"

We may also have to think about a Federal program of scholarships for nonprofessionals seeking human service careers and who can only attend college on a part-time basis.

Frank Riessman has outlined some of the problems involved in the use of nonprofessionals. Many of them are relevant to public welfare work.[9] However, special attention needs to be given to the role of the aide and his relationship to the low-income community.

In many urban areas the people who are most knowledgeable about the welfare system are recipients who are active in welfare rights groups. Both as recipients and as activists in battles against the welfare department they have learned much of what a welfare aide needs to know to perform his job. Thus, they become the best candidates for these new nonprofessional jobs with the welfare department.[10]

If these activists are hired as welfare aides the question of how best to use them is crucial. Their understanding of the welfare system, the day-to-day problems of welfare recipients and their "outreach" to low-income communities must be utilized. The welfare department must begin with the assumption that these ideas can improve the delivery of service not only through their performance of the caseworker's routine tasks but by serious consideration of and action on suggestions based on the aides' experience.

It should be clear that the community's view of the aides will surely change once they are hired by the department. Some of their neighbors may say that they "sold out." Such reactions are inevitable but can be overcome if thoughtful use of the aides is practiced.

The aide must not be seen exclusively as "the man." While he may be making good suggestions to the department some of which may result in improved service, his neighbors and others in the community may see him only in what they view as a negative nonhelping role. Thus, it is important that the welfare aide be given other service-rendering and helping tasks which present a more positive view to the community.

Problems may also be created by the low salaries of caseworkers in some areas. This makes it difficult to create three or four nonprofessional job slots below the caseworker; set the entry-level salary at something above the poverty line and

establish meaningful salary differentials between the several job levels. For example, in about one-half of the New Jersey county welfare departments, the starting salary for a caseworker is less than $5,500 a year.

Important, too, is the relationship between the caseworker and the aide. Caseworkers may see the introduction of aides in the department as presenting more problems than assistance. The notion that the aide may represent a threat to the status of the professional has been treated elsewhere by others and will not be considered here.

The caseworker, already underpaid, may resent the additional supervisory and training responsibilities which he acquires with the employment of aides. This is crucial since one of the essential ingredients in a new careers program is effective on-the-job training. The bulk of this training must be provided as part of the regular supervisory process.

A related problem is the possibility that the aide may be better liked by the recipients. Coming from the community, the aide may be able to develop rapport based on similar life experiences. Additionally, "social workers simply cannot so easily attend weddings, family gatherings and funerals as can neighborhood people."[11] The aide may use his "in" with the neighborhood to enhance his status in the agency while the caseworker may resent the aide's favored position with the recipients. The result is a destructive relationship.

It would appear that the possibilities for creative use of nonprofessionals in public welfare are equalled by the number of attendant problems. Our experience in New Jersey indicates that most of the problems can be overcome by adequate advance preparation. Unfortunately once the agency agrees to hire the aides, most programs fail to lay the proper groundwork in their haste to get the aides on the job. However, it is just this preparation—the development of realistic job descriptions and career ladders, opportunities for additional education, the preparation of the existing agency staff, especially the aides' supervisors, and some thoughtful preservice training for the aides—which will result in successful utilization of nonprofessionals.

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[1]The term "Social Work Associate" refers to a person with a college degree. See Bertram M. Beck, "Wanted Now: Social Work Associates," *Social Welfare Forum,* Official Proceedings, 90th Annual Forum, National Conference on Social Welfare, Cleveland, Ohio, 1963 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 195-205.

[2]See Freeda B. Taran, *The Utilization of Nonprofessional Personnel in Social Work: A Review of Relevant Studies* (New York: Mobilization for Youth, October, 1963). (Mimeographed.)

[3]See e.g. Arthur Pearl & Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor* (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

[4]Cf. Sidney A. Fine, *Guidelines for the Design of New Careers* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, September, 1967), pp. 15-16.

[5]In New York City, for example, the new name of the welfare department is the Department of Social Services and they are experimenting with a program of simple declaration of need in lieu of extensive investigations to determine eligibility.

[6]Gertrude Goldberg, "The Untrained Worker in Social Work" in Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor, op. cit.*

[7]John E. Hiland, Jr., *Employment of the Poor as Preprofessionals,* Technical Assistance Project, American Public Welfare Association, 1968. (Mimeographed draft, 1967.)

[8]Nadine Felton, *Career Incentive Plan for Higher Education of Nonprofessionals* (New York: New Careers Development Center, New York University, August, 1967). (Mimeographed), p. 4.

[9]Need to understand rules of confidentiality, over-identification with the agency, resentment toward authority, and over-optimism turning into defeatism. See Frank Riessman, "The Revolution in Social Work: The New Nonprofessional," *Trans-Action* (November-December, 1964).

[10]Although they are not likely to be hired in New Jersey for a number of reasons, not the least of which are the requirements of both a high school diploma and two years of credit investigation experience.

[11]Frank Riessman, *Trans-Action, op. cit.* p. 14.

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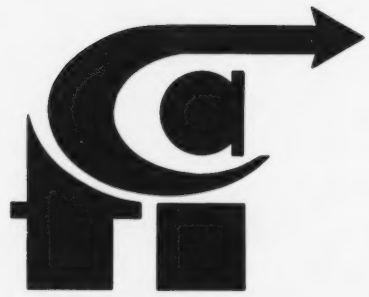

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